

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 054290
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:WBRUBECK:BH
APPROVED BY INR:HHS SAUNDERS
S/S-O:JTHYDEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 054290

NODIS
-STADIS; CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, IS

SUBJECT: PEACE NEGOTIATIONS STRATEGY
EYES ONLY FOR AHERTONFROM SAUNDERS DELIVER AT 0800 HRS
1. AS INDICATED STATE 52217, WE HAVE DONE SOME EXTENSIVE
FURTHER THINKING OF STRATEGY GOING WELL BEYOND THE BEGIN
VISIT. A NEW DRAFT OF THE STRATEGY MEMO IS WITH THE
SECRETARY. HE WILL NOT RETURN UNTIL MONDAY SO WE WILL NOT
HAVE HIS VIEWS FOR YOU UNTIL TUESDAY MORNING YOUR TIME. IN
ORDER THAT YOU MAY PLAN FOR YOUR LAST ROUND OF MEETINGS,
THEREFORE, I AM SENDING YOU THIS SUMMARY OF OUR CURRENT
STRATEGY PROPOSALS AND SOME CONTINGENCY GUIDANCE FOR HOW
TO USE THEM IN YOUR MEETINGS. WE ARE ALSO SENDING YOU
SEPTTEL OUR COMMENTS ON YOUR PROPOSALS FOR YOUR BACKGROUNDERS
AS REQUESTED IN JERUSALEM 614.

2. OUR THINKING NOW IS THAT IN LIGHT OF THE ARMS PACKAGE
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TIMETABLE, THE REALITIES OF ISRAELI POLITICS, AND OTHER
FACTORS, WE CANNOT AIM AT DEFINITIVE RESULTS IN THE NEXT
BEGIN VISIT. WE HAD RECOGNIZED THIS IN OUR LAST VERSION
OF THE STRATEGY PAPER. NOW WE ARE LOOKING MORE PRECISELY
TO LATE APRIL OR EARLY MAY AS A TIME WHEN WE MIGHT AIM FOR
A BREAKTHROUGH ON THE CRITICAL ISSUES THAT WOULD PERMIT
REAL PROGRESS ON THE DECLARATION, WEST BANK/GAZA, ETC. IN

THAT CONTEXT, WE WOULD HOPE THAT BEGIN WOULD LEAVE WASHINGTON CONVINCED OF THE NEED FOR BASIC DECISIONS AND BE PREPARED TO COME BACK WITH THEM IN LATE APRIL OR EARLY MAY (WE UNDERSTAND HE IS COMING ANYHOW IN CONNECTION WITH ISRAEL'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY). IF WE ACCEPTED THIS TIME FRAME, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO PHASE OUR ACTIVITIES SO AS TO KEEP MOMENTUM DURING THAT PERIOD AND CONTRIBUTE TO THIS OBJECTIVE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT A KEY QUESTION IN THIS APPROACH WOULD BE WHETHER SADAT WOULD VIEW OUR APPROACH AS MEETING OUR COMMITMENT TO HIM. OUR THOUGHT IS THAT THIS COULD BE MANAGEABLE IF WE TOLD HIM EXACTLY WHAT WE HAD ASKED BEGIN TO DO AND GAVE HIM THE TIMING OF BEGIN'S REPLY.

3. ON THAT BASIS, WE ARE PROPOSING YOU NOT REPEAT NOT TABLE AMERICAN DRAFT IN FINAL ROUNDS IN CAIRO AND JERUSALEM. WE PROPOSE INSTEAD YOU TELL BOTH SIDES WE FEEL EXCHANGE OF PHRASEOLOGY IS RUNNING OUT OF STEAM. YOU ARE THEREFORE PRESENTING THEM, IN WRITING, WITH QUESTIONS TO WHICH THEIR ANSWERS MIGHT FACILITATE PROGRESS ON DECLARATION. DEPENDING ON RESULTS OF THE BEGIN VISIT, YOU EXPECT YOU WILL BE RETURNING TO AREA IN APRIL AND HOPE THAT NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT FOCUS ON THESE QUESTIONS AND APPROPRIATE REFLECTION OF ANSWERS IN THE DECLARATION.

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4. WE HAVE IN MIND QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO EACH SIDE ASKING ESSENTIALLY WITH RESPECT TO EACH OF DISPUTED PORTIONS OF TEXT: (A) "WHAT IS YOUR SUBSTANTIVE OBJECTION TO LANGUAGE PROPOSED BY THE OTHER SIDE?" AND (B) "WHAT IS THE SUBSTANTIVE OBJECTIVE OF YOUR PROPOSED LANGUAGE?" HOW MANY SUCH QUESTIONS TO RAISE AT THIS TIME, AND ADDRESSED TO WHICH POINTS, WE LEAVE TO YOUR JUDGMENT. YOU MIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE, RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT DISPUTE OVER 242 IN ALL ITS PARTS AS AGAINST PRINCIPLES OF 242. YOU WILL CERTAINLY WANT TO RAISE THEM ON SUCH ISSUES AS LEGITIMATE RIGHTS, PALESTINIAN ARABS VS. PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, IN ALL ITS ASPECTS, AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PARAGRAPH.

5. THIS IS IN PART, OBVIOUSLY, DESIGNED TO PROVIDE A FRESH APPROACH TO DISCUSSION ON NEXT ROUND WHICH IS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN PROGRESS AND PRESSURE BETWEEN NOW AND MAY. WE WANT TO ESTABLISH THAT YOU ARE GOING TO BE UNDERTAKING A FURTHER AND MEANINGFUL MISSION IN APRIL. IT IS, HOWEVER, ALSO AN IMPORTANT PART, IN OUR JUDGMENT, A FURTHER MEANS OF MOVING FROM DECLARATION TO WEST BANK/GAZA. WE BELIEVE PRESSING THE TWO SIDES TO SURFACE

SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES WILL HELP LEAD THEM INTO THE WEST BANK/GAZA PROBLEM.

6. IN VIEW OF SADAT'S EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE DECLARATION CAN BE COMPLETED "BY THE END OF THE BEGIN VISIT" (JERUSALEM 604), WE REALIZE THAT IT WILL BE OBVIOUS TO SADAT THAT WE DO NOT EXPECT TO ACHIEVE THIS ON THE VISIT AND THAT THIS WILL BE A PROBLEM WHEN YOU TALK TO HIM ABOUT YOUR NEXT ROUND. OUR TENTATIVE THINKING IS THAT YOU SHOULD TELL HIM THAT WE INTEND TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SOLVE THE DECLARATION PROBLEM DURING THE BEGIN VISIT AND THAT YOUR PROJECTED RETURN IN NO WAY IMPLIES A WEAKENING OF OUR PURPOSE. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, WANT TO SECRET

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ROUSE FALSE EXPECTATIONS, PARTICULARLY WITH PRESS AND PUBLIC. WE THINK IT BEST, THEREFORE, TO PLAN FOR AND MAKE KNOWN POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER ROUND. WE THINK, ALSO, THAT THE "QUESTION" TECHNIQUE YOU ARE PROPOSING WILL ITSELF BE AN INCENTIVE TO BEGIN TO GET DOWN TO "BIG BUSINESS" IN HIS WASHINGTON VISIT, AS SERVING NOTICE THAT WE ARE DETERMINED NOW TO CUT THROUGH SEMANTICS TO SUBSTANCE. WE RECOGNIZE NEED TO SEND BEGIN HOME WITH A LITTLE FURTHER TIME TO MAKE REAL AND BASIC DECISIONS, RATHER THAN OUR SETTLING IN WASHINGTON FOR WHAT, UNDER THE TIME PRESSURE, MIGHT BE INADEQUATE COMPROMISES. THESE ARE ISSUES SO IMPORTANT THAT, WHATEVER WE ACCOMPLISH IN WASHINGTON, HE WILL HAVE TO GO BACK AND CONSULT HIS CABINET AND PREPARE HIS PUBLIC AND POLITICS, BEFORE HE CAN GIVE DEFINITIVE RESPONSE. WE WOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE YOUR FURTHER THOUGHTS IF YOU HAVE BETTER IDEAS HOW TO HANDLE THIS PROBLEM WITH SADAT.

7. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT DISCUSSION WILL NOW TURN INCREASINGLY TO ISSUE OF INTERPRETATION OF WITHDRAWAL PROVISIONS OF 242. WE EXPECT THIS TO BE FOCUS OF BEGIN VISIT HERE. YOU WILL WANT TO KEEP THIS IN MIND IN FRAMING QUESTIONS FOR YOUR LAST ROUND. I AM SENDING YOU THIS NOW IN HOPES IT WILL GIVE YOU TIME TO GIVE US YOUR REACTIONS AND, IF NEEDED, TO REQUEST CLARIFICATION AND GUIDANCE IN PREPARING FOR THOSE MEETINGS. IT IS, OF COURSE, STILL POSSIBLE THAT THE SECRETARY WILL DECIDE YOU SHOULD, INSTEAD, PRESENT AMERICAN DRAFT AS YOU ORIGINALLY PROPOSED. WE WILL SEND YOU GUIDANCE AS TO HIS DECISION AS SOON AS WE RECEIVE IT ON MONDAY. CHRISTOPHER

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APPROVED BY INR:HSAUNDERS

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AMEMBASSY CAIRO

S E C R E T STATE 054290

NODIS

-STADIS CHEROKEE

FOL RPT STATE 054290 SENT ACTION JERUSALEM DTD 03 MAR 78

QUOTE: S E C R E T STATE 054
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CHRISTOPHER UQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PEACE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 3-5-78, PEACE PLANS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE054290
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: WBRUBECK:BH
Enclosure: FOL RPT STATE 54290 SENT ACTION JERUSALEM DTD 3 MAR 78, HR IS ALSO ST
Executive Order: GS
Errors: I
Expiration:
Film Number: N780003-0207
Format: TEL
From: STATE SS
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197803109/aaaadoid.tel
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Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 jul 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3123705
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PEACE NEGOTIATIONS STRATEGY EYES ONLY FOR ATHERTONFROM SAUNDERS DELIVER AT 0800 HRS
TAGS: PEPR, PBOR, IS, XF, US, EG
To: JERUSALEM TEL AVIV MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b38924b9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
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